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"At this period (1807) little connected with the superintendency was regarded as organized, established, or permanent. Precipitation and crystallization occurred in 1808. At this time the constitution was established. It excepted episcopacy and the plan of General Superintendency from statutory modification by the General Conference." How deftly the clause "it excepted episcopacy" is introduced! Just as subtle is the other phrase "statutory modification." Now all that the constitution of 1808 determined was this: Diocesan episcopacy should never be adopted by the General Conference alone. The episcopacy has been modified. But Dr. Tigert calls this "development," and tells us frankly all about it. He tells us that Asbury maintained the right of the senior bishop to make all the appointments; that McKendree yielded to him the preliminary draft; that Asbury refused to consult the presiding elders; that McKendree refused to make appointments without them; that McKendree doubted the constitutionality of the present "necessary" system; that Bishop Soule's scruples were silenced at last only by the principle that necessity knows no law. He tells us moreover that the General Conference of 1824 passed a resolution allowing the bishops a choice between "episcopal departments" and "travelling in a circuit after each other." "The bishops," he adds, "took different views of *this action of the General Conference.*" A conflict between McKendree and George nearly ended in a rupture of the episcopacy and the church. So that "in 1832 *the General Conference sought again to give relief* and passed a resolution that they deemed it inexpedient to require each Bishop to travel throughout the church during the recess of the General Conference." To call this "development" rather than modification is an ostrich-like attempt to escape the facts. It were wiser to follow Ranke's rule and to tell just how things happened.

Nevertheless, this is a noteworthy and invaluable book. No student of American church history can afford to neglect it; and every student of Methodist history will find it indispensable. It is replete with information, accessible hitherto to very few, and is marked throughout with rare insight and logical ability.

CHARLES J. LITTLE.

The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom. By WILBUR H. SIEBERT, Associate Professor of European History in Ohio State University. With an Introduction by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898. Pp. xxv, 478.)

No one before Professor Siebert has undertaken to make a survey of the whole field of operations of the philanthropists, Southern as well as Northern, who made organized efforts to guide and shelter fugitives from slavery. These efforts were necessarily secret, and it was unsafe to keep records. Fugitives were passed on from one station to another, over lines crossing the Canadian frontier at myriad points, from Michigan

to Maine. Professor Siebert's work has been to piece together a multitude of independent facts, obtained at the cost of immense labor. It is well he began his task while many are living who were active agents of the Underground Railroad. In a few years not one of these will be left to tell his story. As to the total number of escapes it is difficult to make exact estimates. The professor shows that the census reports are entirely unreliable. For instance, the official tables enumerate only 1011 slaves who escaped in 1850. And yet a record kept by Robert Purvis, of Philadelphia, shows that an average of about one thousand per year, from 1830 to 1860, passed through the hands of the Vigilance Committee of that city alone, while agents in Ohio, in the same period, aided more than one thousand per year on an average, and there was no decrease in activity while the last and most stringent law was on its passage. Southern statesmen in Congress, while urging the passage of the law of 1850, are quoted by Professor Siebert (p. 341) as making these estimates :

"In August, 1850, Atchison, of Kentucky, informed the Senate that 'depredations to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars are committed upon the property of the people of the border slave states of this Union annually.' Pratt, of Maryland, said that not less \$80,000 worth of slaves was lost every year by citizens of his state. Mason, of Virginia, declared that the losses of his state were already too heavy to be borne, that they were increasing from year to year, and were then in excess of \$100,000 per year. Butler, of South Carolina, reckoned the annual loss of the Southern section at \$200,000. Clingman, of North Carolina, said that the thirty thousand fugitives then reported to be living in the North were worth at current prices little less than \$15,000,000."

Whether or not these estimates are reliable (and our author does not commit himself to either of them), it is certain that the operations of the Underground Railroad were of sufficient importance to keep both sections of the country in constantly increasing agitation, for a period of more than thirty years. The first impulse of law-loving communities at the North was to respect the guarantees of the Constitution. The number of those who openly declared they would obey the "higher law" was not large; and yet when a slave hunt was in progress on this side of the border, the sympathy of whole communities was enlisted for the fugitives. The operation of the drastic law of 1850 was rapidly doing the work which the superb oratory of Garrison, Phillips, and Douglass, and the burning verse of Whittier, had been only slowly accomplishing. This attempt to nationalize the institution of slavery, and make the whole North a hunting-ground for slave-drivers, was one of the principal causes of the overturn in politics which resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln. Professor Siebert does not overrate the importance of the Underground Railroad, when he says it was "one of the greatest forces which brought on the civil war, and thus destroyed slavery."

A conspicuous merit of this work is its author's careful reference to the sources of information he has consulted. The authorities for all statements of fact are given in abundant footnotes. He does not yield to the temptation to give in detail romantic incidents of the notable

dashes for freedom which he chronicles, but in every case tells where the full story may be found. He names not only the leaders and heroes of the movement, but humbler devotees to the cause of liberty, to the number of several thousands. In an appendix he gives thirty-five pages of closely printed names of Underground Railroad operators, arranged alphabetically by states and counties, and this is but one of many examples of his thoroughness which might be given. He has not failed to treat with the utmost charity the slaveholders who pursued their fleeing property, and the Northern men who felt it to be their disagreeable duty to abide by the guarantees of the Constitution, and aided in the capture of fugitives. He brings no railing accusation against any, although his sympathy with the hunted bondmen and their helpers is apparent on every page.

In his first chapter Professor Siebert refers to the difficulties encountered in his search for facts, the scarcity of contemporaneous documents, and the value of reminiscences from a great variety of sources intelligently pieced together. He then recites the early provisions for the return of fugitive slaves in the original Constitution, in the Ordinance of 1787, and in the first fugitive slave law of 1793. He next calls attention to the first systematic efforts to provide fugitives with the means of escape, in spite of the law. The secret lines leading to freedom were organized in eastern Pennsylvania, before railroads were known, and they were first called the Underground Road by a puzzled slave-master, who, after searching all other roads in vain, said "his nigger must have gone off on an underground road." The law of 1793, with its summary method of disposing of cases involving the question of human liberty, was freely denounced at the North, and its penalty of \$500 did not prevent its frequent violation. The doubly stringent fugitive slave law of 1850, with its fine of \$1000 and imprisonment, and its acceptance of the word of the slavehunter, while the alleged slave was given no voice, afforded opportunities for kidnapping free colored people. In many instances, persons who were never before in a slave state, were carried over the border on the pretence that they were fugitives, and they were in good luck if they had some powerful white friends to interfere in their behalf. The chances were they would be hurried to the Gulf States and lose their freedom irreclaimably.

Professor Siebert devotes an interesting chapter to the life of colored refugees in Canada. The good will and justice there received offset in some measure their suffering from the rigors of the climate. In another chapter the curious fact is brought out that some of the most active helpers of runaways were Southerners by birth and education. Indeed, the reputed president of the Road, who personally aided more than three thousand slaves in their flight, was Levi Coffin, of North Carolina, whose cousins Vestal and Addison Coffin were also active in the same work. These Coffins, by the way, were descendants of Tristram Coffin, the founder of Nantucket, a branch of whose family went South early in the last century. They were, therefore, kinsmen of Joshua Coffin of New-

buryport, one of the original thirteen of Garrison's disciples, who repeatedly risked his life in helping back to freedom colored men who had been kidnapped at the North and taken to the extreme South. Whittier has drawn his portrait in his poem, "To My Old Schoolmaster."

One of the features of the underground service commented upon by our author was its effect as a safety-valve to the institution of slavery. If some of the abler men like Douglass had found no other means of escape, they might have organized formidable insurrections. Many slaves were the sons of masters, and it would be strange if they did not inherit some instincts that might prove dangerous to the institution which degraded them. Some masters were found who had not the heart to enslave their own children, and who sent them to the best schools in Canada. It is not generally known, but it is true, that two of the ablest and best beloved priests in the Roman Catholic Church in this country are sons of a master who thus provided for them and who gave freedom to their mother. One of these sons, who might have been a slave, is now a bishop. He is a cousin of the escaped slave, Ellen Craft, their mothers being sisters, and like her he has only slight trace of his negro origin. The writer of this review had the story from Ellen Craft herself, who called upon her cousin when she last visited this country.

Professor Hart, of Harvard University, contributes an introduction to this valuable work, in which he calls attention to the points upon which Professor Siebert's immense labor throws new light.

SAMUEL T. PICKARD.

The True History of the Missouri Compromise and its Repeal. By Mrs. ARCHIBALD DIXON. (Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company. 1899. Pp. xii, 623.)

MRS. DIXON is not pleased with the historians who have written of the Missouri Compromise and its Repeal. In her judgment none of them have treated these important measures adequately and most of them have added misrepresentation to their other shortcomings. She has undertaken, therefore, in the interest of truth and justice, to set forth "a clear statement" of the facts. While Mr. Dixon, naturally, figures rather prominently in the book, the great burden of it proves to be the cupidity and aggression of the North. We are told that these unfortunate traits became prominent as early as the date of the Federal Convention; that three of the New England states, striking a bargain with South Carolina and Georgia, fastened the slave-trade upon the country for twenty years and that our subsequent national calamities were largely the fruit of this base triumph of greed over principle.

The debates of the convention on the slave-trade may not be altogether pleasant reading, but Mrs. Dixon does the Northern representatives scant justice. Some of them believed with Oliver Ellsworth that "slavery in time will not be a speck in our country," and this conviction served to gloss and disguise "the compromising;" others felt that